1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

123 means that I simply must come back here soon, within the next five years — so I can take advantage of the long delay. I expect to know a lot of useful, but academically unimportant things about the Kuliseu before I get through. This is the place — if I ever heard of one — where a half-dozen ethnologists should be working. Friendly Indians as yet untouched; twenty or more villages within a radius of a month's travel — all of which are culturally different, one from the other. In fact nothing nicer can be imagined.[5]

114 Although several expeditions had penetrated the upper Xingú area before Quain's time, the greater part of the region was unexplored. Karl von den Steinen is perhaps the best known of the early investigators. Reports of his trips in 1884 and 1887 are given in *Durch Central-Brasilien: Erste Schingu Expedition*[6] and in *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*,[7] respectively. Together they provide us with the first ethnographic data on the tribes of the upper Xingú area. Von den Steinen was warned by the other tribes in the area not to visit the Trumaí, who were said to be dangerous warriors and antagonistic to all outsiders. But contact was made eventually, first with isolated individuals and later with two villages. Von den Steinen describes the small, thin people who received him and his colleagues with solicitous hospitality. [291] Some women still wore the traditional pubic covering, the *uluri*. The German ethnographer also noted the peculiar speech of the Trumaí, their excitability, their uneasy relationships and wars with neighboring tribes, and certain features of material culture.

Von den Steinen's expeditions were followed by numerous others, but only those of Hermann Meyer in 1896 and 1899,[8] Max Schmidt in 1901,[9] and Vincent Petrullo in 1931[10] had ethnological importance. Yet systematic knowledge of the upper Xingú tribes remained relatively scanty, limited to information mainly on material culture and word lists. In fact, until Quain's visit to the Trumaí, most of the ethnographic researches in the area were essentially in the nature of general surveys. Although Quain's data are incomplete, his was the first attempt to study with modern anthropological methods the life of an upper Xingú River tribe, and this at a time when the people of the area were still relatively undisturbed by outside influences.

197 Today, however, the long isolation of the upper Xingú River area is being broken. In 1945, an expedition of the Central Brazil Foundation, which aimed at opening a road through Brazil to the Amazon, penetrated the region, and constructed a landing strip. The Brazilian Indian Service now maintains a permanent post in the heart of this region, and several anthropologists (and numerous other scientists, journalists, and tourists) have traveled into the area by Brazilian Airforce planes.

[5] Quain letter, July 23, 1938.
[6] Von den Steinen 1897.
[7] Schmidt 1902—4.
[8] Von den Steinen 1886.
[8] Meyer 1896—7 and 1900.
[9] Petrullo 1932.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

171 zoomorphic benches; the bull roarer; use of the spear-thrower in inter-tribal games; whistling arrows; the mode of hair-cutting and body painting and ornamentation; the use of the *uluri*, or triangular bark pubic cover. The basic subsistence economies of the upper Xingú groups are almost identical, and there are strong similarities in social organization. In the latter sphere, the extended family, bilaterality with some patrilineal emphasis, patrilocality, and the men's cult appear general. The various tribes share many of the same ceremonies and co-participate in some. Insofar as is known, shamanism is much the same among all groups, and there is great similarity in religious beliefs and in mythology.

Trumaí History

174 Although the linguistic affiliations of the other upper Xingú peoples
167 indicate their origins to be in the north, all available evidence points to a migration of the Trumaí from the southeast. Apparently this move did not occur very long ago, for the Trumaí themselves still tell of it. According to Trumaí tradition they came into their present habitat from a land far to the southeast. There, they say, there is still a Trumaí village. Informants varied as to whether or not the forebears of the Xingú [291] Trumaí knew how to grow manioc. They were said to have had long hair like the Gê-speaking Suyá, to hunt tapir, and to tie up their penes. Matiwana, the old man of the Trumaí, claimed to remember when the [177] Trumaí still treated their genitalia in this way. He also claimed that, when the Trumaí moved into the area and saw the Kamayurá and other tribes, they adopted the customs of hair-cutting and penis freedom. [291] The tale, coupled with the fact that the Trumaí women did not use the true *uluri* pubic cover when von den Steinen first visited them,[1] suggests a fairly recent entry of the Trumaí into the upper Xingú area—perhaps no earlier than the nineteenth century — and due possibly to the pressures of white colonization.

174 Other evidence also argues for the recency of the present Trumaí
177 habitat. The diffusion of culture traits in the upper Xingú is extensive, and in most cases it is difficult to determine the direction of borrowing. The Trumaí lexicon, however, shows heavy influence from their neighbors, especially the nearby Kamayurá. This influence manifests itself chiefly in names of plants and objects of material culture and in cere- [533] monial songs. The songs of two major Trumaí ceremonies, both of which are practiced also by the Kamayurá, show a preponderance of Kamayurá words and phrases. Carib and Arawakan words are frequent in [92] other songs. Also, the word for bull roarer in both Kamayurá and Trumaí is *uriuri*. The Trumaí words for such typically tropical forest domestica-

[1] Von den Steinen, 1897, p. 133.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

The situation was comparable to the previously mentioned communal planting of the garden of the Kamayurá, Uluku.

Canoes

The standard bark canoe of the upper Xingú was made and used by the Trumaí.[4] Construction was simple and much less time was required to complete it than the typical dugout canoe of the tropical forest. A long, rectangular piece of bark was cut from the *jatobá* tree by men standing on platforms. The bark was then heated over a fire to soften it. The sides were bent up, and the top end of the bark, which narrowed slightly, was made into the bow by bending it upwards. The center of the stern was bent inwards, allowing the whole stern to be well above the water. Leaks were mended with patches of river mud or clay. Propulsion was by paddle, although occasionally poles were used.

There was also one small dugout in the village which belonged to Aloari, Quain's cook and helper. Aloari had been a Yuruna captive, and it was undoubtedly during this experience that he had learned to make this type craft. He also had a bark canoe and was the only Trumaí to own two canoes.

Basketry

The Trumaí men manufactured baskets that were variously shaped and served several purposes. In general, the Trumaí were less skilled in this art than their upper Xingú neighbors. Among the baskets described by Quain was a deep, round tray made of *buriti* fiber and another which was used to store manioc flour and, when equipped with shoulder and forehead tumplines, to carry loads. The latter was an openwork container made of bark strips. A smaller basket of this type was made of *buriti* fibers. The manioc sieve, or *tuaſi*, was made of stiff *buriti* fronds and was also used to store small articles. It was made by the women. The women also made a bark cloth bag known as the *tdcenit*, a term that, in addition, designated the female pubic covering.

All of the baskets and similar containers described by Quain were made by other groups of the area, but the art of manufacturing certain varieties was known to only a few Trumaí. Some baskets were obtained in trade.

Textiles

All work in cotton was the exclusive province of the women. Hammocks of both twined and woven types were made. The loom consisted of two upright posts between which a warp of *buriti* fiber was extended.

[4] Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 322-23.
[i.e. building Quain's house -- Analyst]

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

The Trumaí made no war clubs at the time of Quain's investigation, although von den Steinen stated that the Trumaí and the Suyá were the only groups of the region to have clubs.[6] The only war club in the village was a long, fluted one of wood that the Waurá had captured from the Suyá and had subsequently given to one of the Trumaí men. It was only used ceremonially.

Firemaking

Fires were kindled by use of a simple, hand-twirled fire drill. Generation of a new fire was not often necessary as there was almost always an active fire in the village from which a flame could be taken. Gathering firewood was woman's work.

Ornaments and Body Decoration

Except for ornaments, men and women were completely nude. The women wore a cord belt that passed around the body just above the buttocks. Some of the women still had what Quain called a "fig leaf," probably a piece of leaf or bark, strung on a cord passing between the buttocks. It was known as the *tdesnit*, the Trumaí term for the *uluri*, the common upper Xingú version of which they did not use.

Except for occasional body painting, the women indulged in little ornamentation. They were plucked of all body hair, but in contrast to the shorter tonsure of the males, they let their hair grow over their shoulders.

The men wore belts of cotton thread or bark fiber, but did not tie their penes. Occasionally flat shell beads were strung around the waist, but more often they were used in necklaces. Necklaces, which were worn in ceremonies, were made by stringing flat rectangular shells on cotton thread. The shells were strung only on the front half of the necklace. Quain noted one type that had two black panels on each end of the necklace. Shell necklaces were an important commodity in intertribal trade, as has already been indicated. Cotton or bark fiber bands were tied around the ankles, just below the knees, and around the biceps.

Featherwork ornaments were worn ceremonially and included headdresses, ear pendants, and feather necklaces. Quain noted one pendant made from the whole breast of a bird. The breast had four colored bands: black, yellow, red, and again yellow, from top to bottom. Another feather pendant consisted of black, red, and yellow feathers arranged in bands and attached to a short piece of wood. A black tree resin held the feathers firmly in place. The feathers were obtained from the tips of parrot wings.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 222.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

Necklaces were made by tying feathers to a cotton cord with *buriti* fibers. Headdresses included one consisting of a ring of cotton threads with colored feathers attached. The front feathers were long and formed a sort of plume. Another headdress, a feather topknot tied to a cotton headnet, was captured in warfare with the Caiabí. A third was a crown woven of bamboo splints traded from the Waurá for arrow feathers. There were probably many other kinds, as intertribal trade in headdresses was lively.

Belts and anklets were also traded between tribes. A few Brazilian type shirts and hats had found their way into the Trumaí village. They had been obtained from travelers in the region, and especially from the missionaries, Thomas Young and his wife.

The men wore their hair cut straight around the head on a line even with the tops of the ears. A small patch on the crown was plucked, but Quain noted that the Trumaí were much less careful about keeping these parts free of new growth than were the neighboring groups. The scissors which Quain gave to one of the men replaced the old method of hair cutting with an instrument made of *piranha* teeth. A composite comb (*kwoau*) was also used. The back was made of two parallel pieces of cane joined by cotton thread and the teeth of splints from the small roots of a palm-like shrub.

The Trumaí used several vegetable paints to decorate their bodies. This method of adornment was always invoked for ceremonies, and often for wrestling, or when there were guests. The paint most commonly used was the red *urucú* (*matdot*) which was grown in the gardens. The *urucú* was made into a paste by mixing it with oil from the visceral fat of a fish. The paste could be rolled into a ball and applied directly, or spread with the fingers or a spatula made from the middle rib of the *buriti* leaf.

Other body paints were *tawariri*, a black tree gum mixed with soot, and a preparation made from *piquí* fruit and fish oil. There was also a dye, *atdot*, which was not described, and one or two other paints which Quain was unable to identify. *Jany*, a non-decorative paste made from the liver of a fish, was used to ward off insects.

Designs included dots, crescents, zig-zags, circles, curves, straight lines, and combinations of these. Quain observed several standard patterns, many of which were symbolic; others were possibly symbolic representations also, but he was unable to learn their meanings.

One man painted crescents on his chest above either nipple which he said represented vaginas. A rattlesnake design consisted of a half ellipse on the flanks with dots in the center. Quain was told that a design of red spots, with two near the nipples ringed in black, was a boa constrictor. Another snake pattern, made by painting zig-zags down the sides and back, was used on one of the posts erected during the *ole* ceremony.

1:Murphy and Quain E-4,5 (1938) 1955
SP23 Trumai SP23

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Aloari

Yanahi

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Kokumu, Suyá Woman

/191 cont./

484 In perfect order, as though this were a carefully rehearsed theatri-
501 cal performance /192/ supported by very successful scenery, the
609 long, narrow craft glided silently along, a considerable distance from our praia /sandy shore; see the glossary, p. 172 /, closer to
[291] the opposite wooded shore; no command sounded. Almost all
302 the naked occupants were painted black and bright red on faces
[289] and bodies, many simply blackened all over with soot; on their heads they wore white feather caps, the hair was cut short all
[411] around, as among the Bakaïrí; the standing ones were overtopped by the bows, almost two and a half meters long, and in the left hand held a thick bundle of colorfully feathered arrows.

609 Gradually they came to a stop and the stillness was followed
576 by a dreadful noise, a fanatical howling and bellowing. There
[101] could be no doubt but that they were Trumaí, for they shouted this word incessantly as though their lives depended on it, beat their fists against their chests, and at the same time made bows with their upper bodies all the more violently since their legs had little room for lively gesticulation. Nevertheless, if any of us had behaved half as excitedly in the canoe, we would surely have fallen hopelessly into the water at the very beginning of the imitation. But we were on firm ground, and the example is contagious. We, too, howled; we, too, bellowed; we, too, beat our chests. Everybody shouted whatever he happened to remember of an Indian language: "Katú, hekatú Trumaí, Bakaïrí, Kustenaú," interspersed with an occasional lusty "diavo," heiliges Donnerwetter /hang it all/ in German, "don't these fellows have any sense?"

[123] But far from it! No matter how invitingly we waved to them, how affably we clapped our hands, how graciously we pointed to our campsite, as though we were speaking to the Spaniard, "Sir, this house is your house," it did not help in the least. It was clear that this performance is official on the Schingú; we should be committing a breach of etiquette were we to speak of other things before we had thoroughly introduced ourselves to each other for half an hour.

1: Steinen--78), E-5 (1884) 1886 SP7 Bacairi
Trumai SP23

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Trumaí

/195 cont./

301 a head-net, above which they pointed upwards, sticking out on
237 all sides, and into which they could be bent back to protect them
415 after use. There was also a dainty little pot with a notched edge,
283 and red cotton strings which several Trumaí wore around the waist
276 or around the lower leg. There was some tobacco wrapped in
415 green leaves; on the beach there were also a few gourd vessels
272 containing insipid, pasty mingau[1] which was just as poor as the mandioca bread.

142 There was no indication that the Trumaí are on a higher level than the Bakaïrí; as far as their body structure is concerned, I did not notice anything peculiar during the brief encounter; in size they did not differ from the Bakaïrí and Kustenaú. The fact that they appeared so ugly in the face may have been due to the
● 291 disfigurement. They protect themselves against penetrating in-
825 sects in the strangest and most primitive manner -- präputium filo gossypii rubro ante glandem farciminis instar constringunt /the foreskin is bound with red cotton thread in front of the glans in such a manner as to look like farcy/. This arrangement may also be useful in the water against the prying candiru fish.

123 What now? A closer study of the Trumaí is, of course, inconceivable. War has been declared; we have no choice but to disappear from the scene of action as quickly as possible. We are forced to forego all further soundings and measurements and bid the Kulisëu farewell. We can still draw one advantage from the awkward situation, however. Since we have departed this far from the path of virtue, we need not have any scruples about transgressing still more. After all, we did not get back our fine ax (two canoes capsized and sank when the Trumaí fled to land). Why should we hesitate to exchange the most warped and defective canoes for those abandoned there, which are well built and excellently dried out?

501 /196/ Several men are sent out and return with three canoes
171 and a few oars, which do not differ from those of the Bakaïrí; one of them is for Valentin and me, a second will be pulled
000 along as a reserve, the third goes to the sergeant. Meanwhile Castro's craft has also been brought home.

[1] [i.e. a drink mixed with manioc flour--Analyst]

/122 cont./

123 half an hour renewed howling and women's screams announced
152 the arrival of Wilhelm and Carlos, who were led up and likewise gave expression to their friendly intentions with words and gestures.

142 /123/ There were mostly small, frail figures with small heads, receding chins, and ugly faces; among the old women there were truly magnificent specimens of witch-models. The
291 women in part wore the triangular uluri, in part a wardrobe garment new to us, a grayish-white bast loop that was drawn over
194 the hips and thickened into a small roll. The language in its cadence reminded us not a little of that of the Suyá, with which it had in common the nagging, squeezed habitus and could be immediately distinguished from all the Kulisehu languages by the frequent terminal sound of ts and by the f.

727 It was strange that the Trumaí had let themselves be taken by surprise in this way. Probably they had fled from the Suyá who had plundered their villages and from us at the same time. Their scouts, who were roving about among the Auetó, Yaulapiti, and Kamayurá, probably believed that we would not return directly to the Auetó from the Kamayurá, but would go to Schingú-Koblenz in order to join Perrot and Vogel, whose trip was already known to them, and reach the Auetó harbor on the river. The camp of the fugitives presented a spectacle of
[162] disorder and confusion. There were about 50 persons in all;
[352] numerous small fires were burning beside the brown hammocks, bundles of all kinds lay about and hung from the trees; the shelter-huts of the Auetó plantation remained unused. The
[501] Indians had come in part by way of the canals: a small flotilla of canoes had drawn up in the swampy water nearby, many of them in bad shape and where necessary pasted up merely with lumps of loam.

437 The beijús, the filled gourd bowls, and the cigars were necessarily lacking at this reception. They brought small balls of cotton and asked for beads. Unfortunately, we had given away almost everything to the Kamayurá and could therefore not offer much. With the remains, however, a few

B /191 cont./
+171 industrious women did not have a hip cord. Smaller boys were
291 usually already provided with the cord, but then always had a couple of dainty trifles strung on it.

/192/ The purpose of the hip cord is to extend the praeputium. The penis is placed upward against the body and pushed under the hip cord in such a way that the uppermost section of the praeputium remains pinched off. The young man is made to do this when the first erections set in. He tries to adhere to the procedure for days and removes the annoying pubic hair.

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[283] The Trumaí had a bizarre method which is also reported from other Brazilian tribes. They tied up the praeputium in front of the glans with a cotton string usually dyed red with urucú. The front end of the penis looked like the end of a sausage. Thus they achieved permanently what the others with their hip cord managed only temporarily. Unfortunately, we were unable to observe them in their village life under normal conditions. When we

BO
[291]
Fig. 17. Penis cuff of the Bororó.

found them in the vicinity of the Auetö, on their flight from the Suyá, we did not notice the strange string on all of the men, although those not provided with it showed the tying-off marks on the praeputium caused by its use. It would not be inconceivable that the men were somewhat embarrassed in front of the Auetö; at any rate, the rest of the tribes, when we spoke to them about the Trumaí, always manifested very special amusement over the wool /Woll/ cord which they mocked and found as funny as we did. We met the company, however, when they were entirely

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/192 cont./

T 291 among themselves, and the chief reason, I presume, in view of the calamity, was the only too explicable neglect of their outward appearance. We also noticed that it was older persons in particular who lacked the string, just as the older ones are the most careless concerning the tonsure. Among older men who wore the string, it rested directly on the scrotum, and the contours of the penis had completely disappeared, so that one saw only a little tied-up bag. And it was scarcely different when they wore no string.

BO 291 191 This consequence of continual mistreatment was no less evident in the case of the cuff or straw collar, which none of the Kulisehu tribes wore, but which I should like to mention here. We saw this device, which is not unknown elsewhere in Brazil, among the Yuruna, the inhabitants of the middle and lower course, who were unacquainted with the upper tribes, and in a larger size among the Bororó of the southern Mato Grosso. A long strip of rather brittle yellow palm-straw is rolled and folded, as the illustration /Fig. 17; see p. 184/ shows, so that a funnel-shaped cuff, tapering to a point at the bottom, is formed; the BO [531] left, projecting end of the strip in the illustration may be ignored, since it was only on festive occasions that the cuff bore such a flag painted with red designs. Its effect is exactly like that of the string: the praeputium is drawn through it in such a way that the /193/ lower, narrow end of the funnel tightly ties off just a tip; see the frontispiece /see p. i/ and Plate 27 /see p. 588/. Here, too, the rest of the penis usually disappears in the scrotum, but the advantage of the rigid cuff over the string is that it does not cut in so sharply. The cuff is an improvement and an embellishment in comparison with the string. I presume that the hip cord was worn first and some of them used pieces of it for the binding, while others were content to clamp the skin. The former went on to the milder and more coquettish cuff, but retained the old and in any case still useful or ornamental hip cord, just as the Bororó wear it besides the cuff, while the cuff-wearing Yuruna have developed it into a wide beaded belt. Actually, Waehneldt reports (1863) of the Bororó living in the source region

BO /193 cont./
29 of the Paraguay that they wear, not the cuff, but the string:
17 "The men tie only the glans around their abdomen by means of
283 a fine bast thread, so that they keep themselves free of insects and are not hindered in running."

B All methods, with slight variations, achieve the same re-
* 17 sult, the covering of the glans, either by simply extending the
291 praeputium or by tying it up besides and even also enclosing it in palm straw.

B As for the women, I have mentioned that they all remove
302 the pubic hair.

B The Suyá women, who adorned themselves with neck chains
301 and wore thick, rolled-up palm-leaf strips resembling tape meas-
291 ures in their pierced ear-lobes, went about completely naked.

T The Trumaí women wore a band of soft, grayish-white
● 29 bast; it was twisted into a rope so that there was concealment
287 only within the most modest limits and surely could not have been intentional, since merely a wider strip could have been used. They rolled a long, narrow, folded bast-strip up a little at one end, held this little roll with one hand pressed against the lower corner of the mons pubis, twisted the free strip around themselves several times with the other hand, and drew it up toward the back between the legs, came to the front again to the little roll, pressed it to them with the strip drawn across it, and turned back over the other hip to the small of the back, where they twisted in the free end and tied it securely.

BO The Bororó women likewise had the soft, gray bast band,
29 which they replaced by a black one during the menses, but they
287 fastened the band to a hip cord. Twisted in there in front, three
841 to four fingers wide, it ran, becoming narrower, over the fissure of the vulva and the perineum to the small of the back and was
BO again tied to the hip cord. In place of the hip cord, a wide,
287 tightly embracing piece of bark was also worn around the body. See the illustration, "Bororó, Mother and Daughter" /see p.589 /.

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naked Suyá women washed their sexual parts at the river in our presence.

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If the glans constantly threatens to become exposed through erections and sexual intercourse, could the wish arise on the part of maturing men to keep it covered for protection? There is much to be said in favor of this. To be sure this need for protection might least of all be related to underbrush and thorns.

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More seriously to be considered are the assaults of the animal kingdom. If the Trumaí, as was maintained of them, were animals who lived in the water and slept on the bottom of the river, they would be urgently required to close off the urethral opening against the little candiru fish (Cetopsis candiru). This transparent, span-long little monster, whose occurrence we noted in the Batovy in 1884, has the peculiar habit of penetrating the body openings accessible to it when human beings are in the water; it slips into the urethra, cannot get back because of its fins, and may easily cause the death of the unfortunate one who has no other recourse but, willy-nilly, to perform the urethrotomia externa with his knife.*

> *The Brazilians' fear of this fish, so harmless in and of itself, is thus probably justified; it is best characterized by a Munchausenism which an officer, with a perfectly straight face, reported to us as true: in the waters beside Villa Cáceres the candiru is so vicious and so consumed with its passion that even when a person relieves himself on the shore it quickly goes up in the jet of water.

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Since, however, the amphibian nature of the Trumaí will justifiably encounter skepticism, and the stay in the water, even for the fisherman or the rower hauling his canoe through the cataracts, plays only an insignificant role, it is /196/ not necessary to grasp at the only occasional danger from the candiru. On

B /196 cont./ their domestic tasks
*171 have made them less accustomed to squatting than the men,
136 and they are therefore less protected. In the illustration on the
516 next page /see p. 192/ a group of Bakaïrí from the second village
751 shows very well the characteristic positions of both sexes in sitting or squatting.

B In the case of the women, too, if protection of the mucous
*171 membrane was to be effected by their devices, this purpose would
291 probably be achieved and certainly be achieved better than, say,
136 the purpose of concealment. Furthermore, it should be realized
751 that, assuming the purpose to be protection of the mucous membrane, a need for this was at least increased through sexual life, since in the case of the young /197/ woman the mucosa became more accessible, in the pregnant state more turgescent, and as a result of childbirth more slack.

Thus it would indeed be improper, on the basis of local conditions, to doubt that the methods described could offer the adults of both sexes protection against external assaults and that there was no lack of occasions when they were bound to be useful in this sense. It would also be natural for young people to be duly furnished with them as early as the onset of puberty when they began to work with the older ones. The explanation, however,

B cannot possibly be exhaustive. For the importance and indis-
*171 pensableness of the devices are out of proportion to the idea /Fig.
291 19 appears here/ of protective apparatus. Why should they not
83 have been removed more often, especially at night in the ham-
[751] mock? Why should the young men have been so intent on training the praeputium. Why should particular fuss have been made one day about wearing the uluris or the cuffs? The connections with sexual life must be direct and not merely indirect.

B In the case of the female sex one encounters no difficulty.
*171 Suddenly bleeding appears; there is illness here. That the Indian
291 thought this originally is clearly proved by the utterly superfluous
84 medical treatment of the menstruating girl customary among
T most tribes, /198/ with isolation, fumigation, diet, incisions,
171 and other remedies against the unknown foes. One neatly re-
● 291 moved the pubic hair and donned a bandage, the bast loop, or a
84 cushion, the uluri. The bast loop among the Trumaí women --

B /198 cont./
*171 a combination of bandage and cushion -- is twisted like a rope, in
291 the case of the uluri wearers the narrow bark strip makes possible
841 the stretching over the perineum; in both bases there is provided a
T
171 support pressing against the pubic symphysis, in the former case by
291 means of the little roll, in the latter case by means of the springy
841 triangle. One realizes that it was not cleanliness which prompted the procedure, but the medical attempt to counteract the loss of blood. These are truly not inventions of modesty, such as aprons or similar loose hangings.

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Fig. 19. Squatting Bakaïrí.

000 similar loose hangings.

B In the case of the men, the explanation is not so obvious. Here,
*171 too, an attempt has been made to preserve the connection with a
291 causative, primary sense of modesty. The view has been expressed
834 that shame was felt only when the glans of the penis was exposed to the gaze of others and therefore it alone was covered. Unfortunately, I did not observe anything that might settle the question directly. I saw that the people were not ashamed when they gave us their devices

A /267 cont./

531 825 No. 3 are armored fish, akará. They have the same shape as the nuki fish of the Bakaïrí, No. 8 on Plate 20 /see p. 280/, so they are perhaps also a species of cascudos. Now, the armored sheatfish do not have a rhomboid form like the mereschu, but are elongated. Since we also see the pakũ, likewise not rhomboidal, as a rhombus, and since even Nos. 14 and 15 of Plate 21 /see p. 281/, the non-schematically drawn fish, look slightly more rhomboid than corresponds with reality, we realize that the fish body in any stylization is meant to be a rhombus, whether or not this is appropriate for the species in question, as it actually is only for the mereschu, applied everywhere with quite overwhelming preference. For more detailed characterization there are worked in, in the case of the pakũ, the dots, and, in the case of the armored sheatfish, the sharply contrasted, hard scales, which are polygonal, but which in the larger specimens appear as slightly overlapping triangles (cf. Brehm, Fische /Fish/, p. 144, illustration).

A 531 [291] In No. 2 we see the uluri triangles, which among the Auetõ, too, are named with the word corresponding to the women's triangle (umpám). It is a great pity that we could not have met the T [291] [171] [531] Trumaí under peaceful circumstances, for they are the only ones whose women wear a bast band; to be sure, they have borrowed so much from their neighbors that they may also have the women's triangle in their ornamentation. In the flute house of the A [345] Auetõ there was a rather long frieze under the vault of the roof, where a whole series of umpams or uluris had been painted in black on narrow strips of light wood.

A 531 825 Now for No. 1. Two rows of triangles, one above the other, exactly like the uluris, but above the triangles there runs a zigzag line bordering the upper sides, which never occurs in the case of the uluris. These are suddenly bats, tatsiá of the Auetõ, and, to be sure, tatsiá pevũ, "level," "flat bats." In like manner, bats in vertical position are the same triangles which horizontally in No. 2 we must acknowledge as uluris; they even lack the accompanying zigzag line of No. 1, but they are designated as hanging bats. The semímo, the bats of the Bakaïrí, on the third back-stick